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122 Illinois, Chicago, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and the Institute for Communication Research at Stanford University. To each and all, my thanks for the sinews of war.

128 Lastly I wish to record my gratitude to Mary F. Hockings and Amelia Fessler for their patient typing, editing, retyping and re-editing, and to Arthur Hockings for preparing the diagrams and maps.

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University of Illinois, Chicago
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133 dissimilar parts by a range of heights running north and south of which Dodabetta ('big mountain') is the tallest . . .

311 East and south of the Dodabetta range . . . the plateau . . . is
318 extensively cultivated by the immigrant tribe known as the
137 Badagas. This does not improve its appearance; the great
134 forests have mostly been felled and their place taken by the poorest low scrub or by fields of miserable cereals surrounding the squat red-tiled houses of numerous hamlets; the country is deeply scoured by every shower of rain until the infertile red and yellow sub-soil clays are laid bare; and, owing to the Badagas' former custom of shifting their cultivation from year to year to new patches of land, grass has been prevented from getting any firm hold on the denuded hill-sides. Only on the slopes of the plateau (which are too steep for cultivation) and in a few isolated Government reserves, does the forest flourish in its virgin beauty.

133 West of Dodabetta, however, the Badagas are more rare;
137 hardly a field or a village (except the little clusters of huts belonging to the pastoral Tódas) is to be seen; and the country
[311] consists of a sea of rounded green hills, rising now and again into more prominent heights and ranges, which are covered with short grass . . . These rounded hills are divided each from each by streams or bogs, and nestling in their wrinkles are beautiful little woods, . . . the edges of which have been so sharply defined by years of grazing and (perhaps) grass fires that they look almost like artificial plantations. . . .(Francis, 1908, 3–5).

• 128 A few of the village names defy any interpretation—either by me
103 or by my best informants—probably because they have changed too much to be recognizable now as Baḍagu substantives. But leaving these aside we still have in the list of toponyms which follows a corpus of 311 meaningful toponyms for a community of about 362 hamlets, 18 of them no longer occupied. Some toponyms are repeated in several places, (e.g., Naḍuhaṭṭi, 'middle hamlet', or Hosaṭṭi, 'new hamlet'); numbers given after some explanations indicate where such a toponym occurs more than once in the Nilgiris. We will now examine the meanings of the toponyms, which are given here in a phonemic transcription of Badagu (a Dravidian language).

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318 given up almost wholly to the plough or hoe, were once covered with dense jungle, except the more stony ridges and heights. This is evidenced by the numerous shóla trees, single or in groups of two or three, standing generally near a rock or stream, which have owed their escape from the general destruction to the superstitious fears of the people, who regard them as the homes of the unseen genii of the place. The frequent occurrence of the suffix *kâd*, jungle or forest, in names of localities, where now hardly a tree is to be found, is additional proof . . . (Grigg, 1880, 9).

000 This pronounced ecological change has generated a number of studies exploring the likelihood that the more westerly grasslands now occupied by the Todas were also originally heavily forested areas that succumbed to annual fires started by these herdsmen (e.g., Noble, 1967; Blasco 1971). While that question is of little significance in our present study, it does emphasize the manner in which ecological change may be so devastating as to alter the environment almost beyond recognition after a toponym has been assigned to a site there.

NOTES

103 1. The + used in these lists merely links the morphemes in a word, and is not to
●128 be considered as a symbol of juncture. Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of times a toponym is repeated.

2. On cold nights frost can form.

195 3. Euphony is an important feature of Badaga speech and is a characteristic in hundreds of their proverbs; e.g.,

hattu jina sa:la/
ten days debt,
ondu jina su:la
one day venereal disease:
i.e., 'For ten days it will be a debt, but one day it will become a venereal sore.'

103 4. These were Tu:ḍu:ru, Kanaṭṭi, Kolekombe, Kuriyamale, Bekode, Tuha:ḍa, Hatare, Malligo:re, Tiddere, Kaggeri, Hayu:ru, Koṅamotta, Ha:ḷaṯṯaṇe, Ha:ḷa:ḍa, Honnimaṇṇu, Baṇahaṭṭi, and Gonne:ri. Since these names are almost unknown to present-day Badagas we cannot be precise about their pronunciation or meaning.

000 5. Remnants of this population now live in nearby Ko:ḍe:ru and can still recall something of their history.

361 6. These latter were named Beṯṯaṭṭi, Koṭaṭṭi, Kareko:ṯe, Banahaṭṭi, Ta:veka:ḍu,
103 Beṇḍaṭṭi, and Pannamaḍai.

000 7. During the past century there have been several well-documented cases of Toda hamlets being abandoned.

133 8. It may be recalled that the Nilgiri Plateau rises to an elevation of 2634 meters in Doḍḍabeṯṯa, 'Great Mountain'.

[p. 70 is blank]

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582 [538] Another factor entering into the choice of a bride is expressed in the proverb, 'Have the girl from a far-away place; have the cow from a nearby place.'[7] It is generally felt that a woman from a distant village who is a classificatory cross-cousin will make the best of wives, for she will not take too many liberties with affines who are not previously well-known to her, and at the same time she will be unable to run home to her parents too often; in short, she is likely to remain in the marital home and work adequately there. An example of an ideal marriage with a classificatory father's sister's daughter is to be seen in Diagram 9 (p. 179) (the man marked X). The principle of 'equivalence' of brothers in this kinship table makes X's wife a cross-cousin to him.

565 [121] In Chapter 10 we will discuss the manner in which the modern Badaga community is becoming a class society. We should nonetheless note here that already by the nineteenth century a class of 'gentry' had arisen in each village. This is the term I have chosen for the families descended from the village founders and including all of the headman. As will be seen, these people had higher social status than others and a peculiar status in Badaga law, to be explored in Chapter 8.

• 128 The marriage system which now links the forty-four Badaga clans into ten phratries is a very complex one and calls for a clarifying diagram to accompany the following pages of description. Each circle in Diagram 7 represents one clan, and the intervening lines link clans which customarily intermarry. Clans have been grouped into phratries. The dotted lines mark irregular but acceptable patterns of marriage. The subcultural divisions between Lingayats and other Shaivites, between Christians and Shaivites, and between vegetarians and meat-eaters, have also been indicated.

WODEAS

615 [162] The majority of Badagas rank Wodeas as the highest phratry in the community.[8] They occupy twelve villages scattered across the plateau, some very close to the villages of lower phratries. Their villages are not all exogamous. There are perhaps four thousand Wodeas, distributed among three unnamed clans, or six septs. These septs, with their variant names, are as follows:

615 614 612 Clan I: Ṣu:riya and Selandi (or Sedili) septs;

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615 this particular phratry is commonly called 'Badaga'. At a rough
[162] estimate it numbers eighty thousand. I prefer to use the correct but
not widely recorded name Gauda, as it obviates the confusion that
• [128] can arise in calling one phratry and the entire community by the
same name. The word *Gauda* also points to their derivation from the Kanarese farmers and cattle-breeders known by that name (a branch of the Okkaliga caste; Thurston, 1906; vol. II, 269–272).

The Badaga Gaudas today occupy some three hundred villages; hence, unlike the members of a smaller phratry, no Gauda can hope to have friends or relatives in every village. Often a man cannot be too certain about whether a particular *distant* village belongs to his own or to another clan. This can raise difficulties when a marriage is being arranged with a village into which the groom's lineage or village has not previously married. Otherwise, the Gaudas can assign every village with which they have marriage connexions to one clan or another (aside from some special cases).

614 So far as I can ascertain the Gaudas have six clans plus ten
582 'neutral' villages which may have marriage relationships with any
[615] other Gauda village. It appears—and informants confirm this—that the unwieldly size of clans with over ten thousand different kinds of solution. The first employs divisional boundaries—the only situation in which the larger political divisions of the Nilgiris are relevant in the arrangement of marriages. Gaudas observe a rule that clan exogamy is essential only in marriages arranged between two villages *within* the same division. If the village is in any of the other three divisions, and if there is no known precedent of a marriage with that particular village, then it is usually *treated* as a member of another clan even though it would be possible to argue that it belonged to the same clan were the villagers to trace out a network of other known marriage connexions that indirectly link the two villages. If in one's own division two villages A and B have both had marriages with village C, then A and B usually belong to the same clan and call themselves 'brothers'. But if the villages A and B are in different political divisions then the fact that at some time they both married people from (or into) village C—which might be anywhere in the three other divisions of the plateau—is deemed irrelevant. In practice, where a history of marriage with C could be demonstrated for both A and B, the villagers would usually rationalize the

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dominates because of its size, for it consists of some twenty-five families, as compared with the four families in each of the four smallest clans. It is the leader of Ku:kalu clan who settles most of the disputes in these eight villages, although each of them has its own headman. When neither he nor the family elders were able to resolve difficult disputes in the past, the headman of Ku:kalu commune in the northeastern Nilgiris was asked to adjudicate.

The eight villages contain a population of about 800 Badagas, as well as several hundred Iruḷa tribesmen. While no intermarriage occurs between the two groups, there have been stray cases of Badaga men keeping Iruḷa mistresses.

The comparable situation of a peripheral Badaga community living in the Wainad will be discussed below (see pp. 129–131).

NOTES

1. Grigg, 1880, 219. Their factual legends, devoid of supernatural elements, are in sharp contrast to the origin myths of such tribes as the Toda and the Santal; compare Rivers, 1906, 184, and Orans, 1965, 5.
2. Rivers, 1906, 36; Emeneau, 1937, 103, where the number of clans given for tōwḷḷy is incorrect; see also Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 125. On the priests who make sacrifice, see Rivers, 1906, 39–42, 71–72, 276–285, 354.
3. Srinivas, 1942, 32–38; Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 477. For the taboo on killing snakes, see Breeks, 1873, 104.
4. Diagram 7 roughly illustrates the hierarchy. A stranger to this community will hear claims of much higher ranking than the speakers would dare voice to members of other Badaga clans; here we will only present the most widely agreed-upon ranking. (The existence of a hierarchy does not *ipso facto* make this a caste society).
5. Ward, 1821, lxxi; Hough, 1829, 88. Their thread, unlike that of Brahmins, has only one strand.
6. Note, for example, the wives of Huṭṭi in Diagram 5. The Badaga kinship terminology is of the Dakota type (Hockings, in press).
7. heṇṇa du:ranta koḷḷu/danava sa:renta koḷḷu.
8. Jagor, 1876, 202; Francis 1908, 130–131. 'At a funeral the Badagas in general take off their turbans, but the Wodeans keep theirs on. Every Native, not even excepting the petty hill-chiefs [headmen], must bow down before them and pay them adoration'; Metz, 1864, 48–49. During the great memorial ceremony Wodeas are honoured with a bed on which they are invited to sit; Belli Gowder, 1923–1941, 14.
9. There have also been a few irregular marriages of Wodea girls to men living in Mysore State and the Kollegal Hills near Ha:sanu:ru; see below, pp. 216–217.
10. Grigg, 1880, 220; Francis, 1908, 130–131; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 72–73. The name *Wodea* actually means 'owner, lord, master, ruler'; Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 45, n. 510.

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are available for the total area under crop by Badagas.[14] In the case of the administrative 'village' of Sholur nevertheless good data (McIver & Stokes, 1883; Benson, 1884; Arputhanathan, 1953, 43; Subrahmanyam, 1962, 3-4) allow a realistic comparison with the recent situation (see Table 1). This 'village' (actually a commune) may be considered typical of Badaga settlements and has hardly changed its official boundaries since the Land Settlement of 1884.[15]

Table 1. *Sholur (So:lu:ru) 'Village': eighty years of agricultural change*

Total 'village' area, 1884	9113 hectares
Total 'village' area, 1961	9111 ha.
Registered *patta* lands, 1884	913 ha., all held by Badagas
Registered *patta* lands, 1962	1619 ha., nearly all held by Badagas
Number of *pattas*, 1884	49 single registrations, 63 joint ones (i.e., total of 112 *pattas)*
Number of *pattas*, 1962	372 in total
Population, 1881	1772, all communities, in 384 houses
Population, 1961	8518, all communities, in 930 houses
Estimate of cropped area, 1880-1881	749 ha.
Estimate of cropped area, 1962	607 ha.

From Table 1 evidence of several important shifts emerges:

A. In eighty years the population increased fivefold.

B. In eighty years the size of households doubled, from an average of 4.61 to an average of 9.15.[16]

C. In eighty years the number of registered land holdings *(pattas)* more than tripled.

D. In eighty years the area of *patta* land doubled through release of government-held reserves (but was not all cropped).

E. Fragmentation of holdings has thus been taking place.

F. The estimate of the total cultivated area in 1962 was a little below that for 1880-1881.

G. Average cultivated area has thus dropped from 0.42 ha. per capita in 1881 to 0.07 ha. per capita around 1961; in other words, only one-sixth as much cropped land is being used as there was in 1881 for each person.

We may conclude from the recent situation at Sholur (So:lu:ru)

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692 complaint but the good repute of a man's village. Even recent cases of murder and suicide were handled entirely by the traditional Badaga council in the village where the acts were committed. That procedure contravenes Indian law, for any such criminal offences should automatically be reported to the police and then examined in a magistrate's court.[17] However, whether siding with the victim, the malefactor or neither, Badagas prefer to settle such matters through the headman and his council, thus protecting the village name from the dishonour of a police investigation and loose gossip. For the same reason they also try to stop a case from reaching the higher levels of their own traditional councils.

691 692 Despite this restrictiveness, it is now very common for a case which has already been judged by the village council to be taken to a lawcourt by whichever side has lost; hence we may characterize the present procedure as 'ambilegal'. There are two factors which may prevent the loser from appealing his case to a magistrate: one is the high cost of solicitors and of bribing various petty officials; the other is the common knowledge that the decision of the village council, though often not very impartial, can be used as evidence in court, whereupon in something like '98% of cases' (in the estimate of one experienced informant) the magistrate simply reiterates this decision.

Although he usually upholds the village council's decision, it is not in itself legally binding. Therefore while an appeal to the traditional councils is normally cheaper this is done less often now than before the Second World War. As disenchanted and westernized litigants turn to the magistrates more and more frequently the traditional hierarchy of councils is proportionately sapped of the power to enforce its decisions.

● [128] A case taken from my notes may help illustrate how an individual can nowadays try to manipulate the two judicial systems to disadvantage an opponent.[18]

159 691 692 Two brothers, Kallan and Jo:gi, lived together with their wives and children as a joint family in a Me:kuna:du village and, as was the custom, also held joint ownership of their land, each farming as much of it as he wanted. In 1948, Jo:gi, the elder brother, died leaving his two young children and wife in the care of Kallan. One of these children was a daughter who would leave the family at marriage and would not be entitled, under

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capacity as village munsif [*manegar*] and Magistrate. He has to prepare reports, accounts, statements, etc., which it is necessary to put in writing . . .'; Madras, 1958, 1.

622
661

14. Thurston 1909, vol. I, 80. This unusual treatment was not obligatory and was rarely possible because a *manegar's* rounds were short and could not have kept him away from home at night. A *manegar* with a penchant for girls would quickly have lost his reputation.

623

15. The India-wide term for a village council. The distinction between civil and criminal law is made explicit in the *Indian Penal Code*, which in this matter closely follows English common law.

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[623]

16. The *panchayat* members are supposedly elected every four years; their position is prestigeful but unpaid. The chosen representatives tend to be relatively well-educated but rarely village headmen. The powers of this court, which is at the lowest level in the hierarchy of lawcourts, are: '. . . to take cognizance of and try specified offences of a trivial nature and abetment of such offences committed within the local limits of their respective jurisdiction. Such offences are affray . . ., voluntarily causing hurt . . ., assault or using criminal force . . ., theft . . ., and mischief . . ., insult . . ., some nuisances . . ., and generally any other offence under the Indian Penal Code or any special or local law which is punishable with fine only or with imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months or with both.' Madras, 1958, 50.

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17. It is supposedly the headman's duty to decide whether a case should be taken before a magistrate.

18. This case remained unsettled in 1975 (all names used are fictitious).

●128
[159]

19. 'Satchit', 1940, 15; Dharmalingam, 1962; see Diagram 9. Just before his death K. B. Ari Gowder corrected what I have here written about his life.

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Todas or Kotas: the old fear of witchcraft lingers on. In the middle age-group of the sample (35 to 54 years) there was a significant correlation[15] between dislike of Kurumbas and a feeling that the world in general is a dangerous and evil place—an interesting confirmation of our earlier assertion that witchcraft accusations against Kurumbas have in the past been associated with general feelings of insecurity and stress (see above, pp. 200–201).

In general Badagas feel little compunction to maintain an association that is clearly not economically feasible. Among the indigenous peoples they are taking the lead in finding and internalizing new orientations, which help them secure a place in the national economy and society at the expense of their traditional position in Nilgiri society. While Kotas, Kurumbas and even some Todas are adopting the Badagas as a model, Badagas are following urban Tamilians and Christians in valuing the products of modern technology, seeking monetary profit, good education and a westernizing life-style they think acceptable in a modern urban context.

CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURE

We have already commented on changing patterns of marriage and residence and will now examine how the position of the gentry and the roles of the individual have altered with recent changes in the social structure. The central idea in this discussion is that social structure can usefully be defined as a system of linked network-clusters and that the status of a villager is determined by his position in these clusters.

The distinction between gentry[16] and non-gentry is sufficiently precise that all families can be assigned to one category or the other by those who know them. Perhaps five per cent of the community is now considered as gentry. Until the mid-nineteenth century the most prestigious family of gentry was the largest family possible. This was often achieved through polygynous marriages; in one case in the 1950s, probably a record for Badagas, a wealthy but infertile man had five wives simultaneously. In these families men were often several decades older than their wives; I know of a case where the husband was over 90 when the youngest of his three wives was 26. Polygyny, however, is no longer common.

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9. See above, pp. 166, 168. On the designation of Badagas as a caste, see Hockings, 1968 b, *passim*.

482 205 10. Ward, 1821, lxv; see above, p. 142. Until 1878 the mails were carried by teams of runners; Grigg, 1880, 408.

11. The district is unusually well endowed in this respect, for it is only the size of Warwickshire or Luxemburg and slightly smaller than Rhode Island State. From Ootacamund some of the major cities of South India are also served: Madurai, Salem, Mysore, Bangalore, Coimbatore, Palghat and Calicut (Kozhikode).

494

212 12. India, 1962, 133; Moses, 1964, 33, found 73% of Badaga males and 50% of females literate ($N = 200$). My sample in 1963 was 420.

177 13. There are a few who combine the business trip with a pilgrimage, but this is not usual.

178 14. This purposive sample was drawn from 656 interviews in the district.

179 15. $Chi^2 = 5.18$, $P < 0.03$. This middle-aged group had grown up during the slump which spanned the 1930s and which is reflected in the low food-grain prices of those years; see Madras, 1965, 37.

207 125 16. *manetana*, literally 'house-stage' or 'house-level'; compare Kannada *manetana*, translated as 'household,' 'race, family' by Kittel, 1894, 1207, the connotation being a family of worthy people.

● 128 17. Grigg, 1880, 366. These were village magistrates and clerks; see above, p. 172.

554 622 647 538 554 18. These social distinctions have over a century of history. They are crystallized in various proverbs as well as being universally recognized normative concepts. One proverb, for example, runs: 'Though it is hot water it will extinguish fire.' This refers to group loyalties: though we may have a friendship with a man of another lineage, village, faction, phratry or community, we will take the side of our own group against his when the need arises. Other proverbs relate to particular social distinctions, e.g., between one village and another:

'Even if he is headman of his own village, he is not superior to the son of the widow of the last house in another village.'

'If you are not cunning, do not go to Jakkatala; if you are poor, do not go to Ke:ti.'

E.g., between phratries.

'If a crow makes a dropping on you it is a bad sign; if a Ha:ruva shouts at you it is a bad sign.'

E.g., between affines and agnates:

'If brothers curse each other, one can still build his house on his brother's threshold; if in-laws curse, leave and run away.'

'Though she is our sister, is her husband ours?' (In a later work I plan to analyse some 1300 Badaga proverbs).

[p. 238 is blank]

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problems of comprehension, which were grounded in the different taxonomies used by Badagas and Europeans. The categorization of plants was different from anything a botanist might recognize. A number of distinct species, sometimes even from different botanical families, can be identified by the Badagas with a single name; while conversely they may have several names for plants of the same species at different stages in their development. Nonetheless it was possible, with the help of professional botanists, to get an identification for virtually every plant used in a medicine. My knowledge of physiology was clearly different from (I would have said, in advance of) what the Badagas knew, and hence we had endless discussions about whether it was the stomach or the liver, a nerve or an artery. The tradition of secrecy further complicated data collection, in that an unrepresentative and too small sample of therapists had to suffice; and their medical practices have to be regarded as idiosyncratic because we do not know if they are universally found among all practitioners within this community of 120,000 people. On the face of it, it would seem unlikely that cures for the "same" malady are identical throughout the community, since there has been no interest group to bring the therapists together.

Although this study may sometimes read as though it were written in the "ethnographic present," that is not actually so. If I put a sentence in the present tense and then follow it by such a reference as (Harkness 1832: 18), I mean that the data are true today and were also noted in 1832.

The data on which this study is based were gathered during my tenure of a fellowship from the American Institute of Indian Studies, and my period as an exchange scientist with the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. I am grateful to both the United States and the Indian governments for making the necessary funds available through these organizations, in 1963 and 1972 respectively.

Dr Ghanshyam Patel, who has been trained in Ayurvedic, allopathic, and Western medicine, has given invaluable help with the identification of diseases; as has also Dr Theodore C. Doege, Associate Professor of Epidemiology and Preventive Medicine at the University of Illinois Medical School; and botanists—especially B. Rangan—in Ootacamund, have helped me greatly with the identification of plants. I also wish to thank Charles Leslie, Charles Reed, Howard Barden, and Whabiz D. Merchant for their critical interest and support during the writing of this book. Judy

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Krysko and June North did a sterling job of typing the manuscript, while my mother, Mary F. Hockings, typed out the original field-notes. Ray L. Brod, cartographer at the University of Illinois, in Chicago, was kind enough to prepare all of the diagrams. 128

My greatest thanks must however be reserved for the various Badagas who supplied me with so much information, especially K. Lakshmanan, M. N. Thesingh, and his mother K. Sithamma. It was Sithamma, a practising therapist until well into her eighties, who treated me as her own son and attempted to teach me everything she knew about curing. If this book has any coherence it is largely due to the lifetime of her medical experience that lies behind its contents. Just as I finished writing, I learnt that Sithamma had passed away in her eighty-sixth year, on 25 July 1976. It seems appropriate, therefore, to dedicate this volume to her memory. 115

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1 INTRODUCTION

An Approach

121 1.1. The complex connections between a folk therapeutic system and the culture within which it operates are the realm of medical anthropology. A medical ethnographer is primarily concerned with the folk definition and classification of illnesses and their cures. Central to this process of definition is the profession of the therapist, for it is that person who makes the relevant diagnostic decisions. The ethnographer will therefore need to explore how therapists, and such related specialists as midwives, try to affect the health and development of each individual, and how a patient will seek or even avoid therapeutic help according to a culturally specific fabric of knowledge, choices and values that people associate with illness and its alleviation.

These folk medical systems are long-lasting. Each system has developed over the course of several centuries within a particular cultural framework. That context includes four shifting factors: environmental changes produced by a people (in the present study, the Badagas of South India); "cultural drift" (i.e., a process of internal change in a cultural system); relations pertaining between the various social units of the community; and successful innovation where the opportunity has permitted. But in addition to this shifting context of meaning and applicability, there is a pharmacological component in a therapeutic system. Virtually none of the cures recorded for the Badagas consists solely in the utterance of a spell or the laying on of hands: instead we find that natural substances are used in specifiable ways to produce particular results.

●128 In this book I concentrate on both the cultural context of therapy and its pharmacopoeia. Specifically, the Badaga classification of

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curable illnesses is described (Chapters 5-8). Some emphasis is placed on reproduction and sexuality (Chapters 3 and 4), because reproductive success is the ultimate test of any society's adaptation to its environment. The role of the therapist and associated specialists, and their relations with their clients, is an extremely critical factor in the maintenance of a folk medical system. Equally important to the propagation of this knowledge is the recruitment of apprentices and the relationships they develop with a therapist (Chapter 10). Care of the living body and the advent of death receive some consideration (Chapters 2 and 9). Finally, this study may be of particular interest to pharmacologists because it identifies each of the substances used in every medicament described (Chapters 4-7).

Differential interaction between Badagas and their environment — an environment which does of course include disease organisms — has over some 20 generations led to a survival of the healthier individuals, a higher fertility, and in general a steady expansion of their occupancy of the Nilgiri Massif, beginning with the founding of Tu:ne:ri village in the sixteenth century on the arrival of a few dozen refugees, and culminating in the very large and prosperous population of today (Diagram 1). The medical ethnography which follows will attempt to delineate the important factors in their adaptation.

Introducing the Badagas

1.2. The Badagas are a community of Hindu peasants who numbered 104,919 people in the official census of 1971. They live almost entirely on the Nilgiri Massif, which is in the westernmost corner of Tamil Nadu State, India, some 11°N from the Equator. The great majority of them are potato, cabbage and tea cultivators, but until the early years of this century they were farming such subsistence crops as barley, wheat, and several millets. The fields surround their villages and farms. They rarely irrigate, but rely instead on the two regular monsoons. Some people also keep herds of buffalo and cattle for milk and other dairy products, but not for meat.

Their long rows of brick houses lie along the leeward slopes of the hills, and are thus protected from the worst of the rains. In every village there are also temples or shrines to various Hindu gods. Badagas are nearly all Hindus of Saivite persuasion; two small but significant minorities are the Lingayats and the Christians.

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(2) The lower plateau, ranging from about 5,000 to a peak at 8,640 feet, where over 350 Badaga hamlets are located. (3) The escarpments and lower slopes, primarily the home of the Kurumba and Irula tribes, who are swidden cultivators still practising some hunting and gathering, and important to Badagas for their sorcery. (4) The more westerly Waina:ḍ Plateau, averaging about 3,000 feet in elevation, which is the territory of Kurumbas, Paṇiyas, Maunta:-dan and Waina:ḍ Chettis, and of eight hamlets of Badagas, here known as Waina:ḍ Gaudas. Irrigated rice, and tea and coffee, are the most important crops there today.

Since the culture of the Waina:ḍ Gaudas has been dealt with elsewhere (Ranga 1934; Hockings 1979a), and in any case is more like a variant subculture of the Maunta:dan Chettis than like that of the Nilgiri Badagas, I will pay no attention to them in the present study, but confine myself to the Badagas of the Nilgiri Massif.

The environs of these Nilgiri Badagas have been discussed in some detail in a paper on Badaga placenames and cultural ecology (Hockings 1974), and have been accurately described in the following account of the lower and upper plateau:

> The plateau is a true tableland, its average height being very uniform. But there is not a square mile of level ground in the whole of it, its surface being broken by endless undulations which in places swell into considerable and distinct ranges. It rises most abruptly from the plains below it; and on the west. . .its sides are often sheer, bare walls, hundreds of feet in height and too steep even for trees to obtain a footing on them. Elsewhere dense forest covers almost the whole of its slopes.
>
> It is first of all divided east and west into two fairly equal but dissimilar parts by a range of heights running north and south of which Dodabetta ('big mountain') is the tallest. . . .
>
> East and south of the Dodabetta range. . . the plateau. . .is extensively cultivated by the immigrant tribe known as the Badagas. This does not improve its appearance; the great forests have mostly been felled and their place taken by the poorest low scrub or by fields of miserable cereals surrounding the squat red-tiled houses of numerous hamlets; the country is deeply scoured by every shower of rain until the infertile red and yellow sub-soil clays are laid bare; and, owing to the Badagas' former custom of

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ment. Today that environment has changed so much socially, economically and intellectually that the old therapeutic system is becoming an anachronism. This change is not simply attributable to the fact that scientific medicine is viewed as "better" in any objective sense. The number of Badagas who die either in hospitals or after being brought home (often prematurely) from them is sufficient to bolster a suspicion to the contrary. Nonetheless scientific medicine has now become the medicine of the urban middle classes in the Nilgiris, many of whom are professionals and are taken as a positive reference group by the rest of the community in these matters. The most progressive of Badagas are already finding their place in the broader urban culture of modern South India; and in this context reliance on an antiquated, indigenous therapeutic system is seen by increasing numbers as an embarrassing reminder of the primitive past. Despite the greater cost that may be involved, many Badagas now patronize Badaga doctors with degrees in scientific medicine. Since these doctors are pillars of the local urban middle class, support of them may be seen as evidence of class emulation on the part of Badaga peasants.

1.9. The simple model shown in Diagram 2 indicates some major ecological relationships in Badaga culture, the basic flow of energy, and the role of therapy in helping maintain this system.

The etic reality of these energy relationships is indisputable: only a brief survey of the ethnographic descriptions of the Badagas would demonstrate this. Yet the Badagas' own point of view on the business of living colours these relationships with the particular characteristics of a particular culture, and the recording of that emic viewpoint is essential for a fuller understanding of the culture and its therapeutics. I find myself in agreement with Frake that one

> must discover those features of objects and events which they regard as significant for defining concepts, formulating propositions, and making decisions. This conception of an ethnography requires that the units by which the data of observation are segmented, ordered, and interrelated be delimited and defined according to contrasts inherent in the data themselves and not according to a priori notions of pertinent descriptive categories. (Frake 1962 : 54)

In line with this valuable prescription, I will present in this study an

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emic description of Badaga therapeutics insofar as the data permit, stepping outside that position to present etic observations only in the next chapter and the final two chapters where death and the organization of therapy are considered. The emic account is still quite partial, since it relies only on information from the therapists and other specialists, and does not show what the patients and their relatives think of illness episodes.

The Formulation and Spread of Medical Knowledge

1.10. Those familiar with the Ayurvedic and Sidda medical systems in India will doubtless wonder to what extent Badaga medicine is either derived from them or analogous to them. This is a question of some importance, yet the evidence does not support a connection. Of over 120 species which Badagas use therapeutically, only 49 are mentioned in the generally exhaustive, four-volume compendium, *Indian Medical Plants* (Kirtikar, Basu *et al.*, 1933). An examination of the entries for those 49 species reveals that in almost every instance they are used for quite different types of therapy in Ayurveda than I have found they are in Badaga medicine. It must be realized that each of the 49 species is said to be useful in perhaps a dozen or so Ayurvedic cures; yet only six of these species had a role in *any* comparable Badaga treatment: namely for cough, melanoma, eczema, piles, ulcers, and the improvement of a child's appetite. Some species (e.g. black pepper) are "hot" in the Ayurvedic system but cooling in the Badaga one, or heating in the one (e.g. fenugreek) but neutral in the other (2.1, Table 2). The opium poppy is constipating in Ayurvedic medicine (Kirtikar, Basu *et al.*, 1933: I, 126), but *relieves* constipation in Badaga practice (6.55). We may also note that none of the Badagas' ailments or cures bears a Sanskrit name.

The Badagas do not think of Ayurvedic medicine as their own, nor do they view it as particularly effective. In 1963 I interviewed a random sample of 301 Badaga males and 119 Badaga females (all adult) from a wide range of villages. Table 1 shows their responses to the question, "Do you think that Ayurvedic doctors can cure all diseases?"

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Table 1. Attitudes Towards Ayurvedic Medicine

	Males	*Females*
"can cure any disease"	18.6%	14.3%
"occasionally may succeed"	25.2%	21.0%
"no: Western medicine is better"	2.7%	5.0%
unascertainable answers	53.5%	59.6%
	($N = 301$)	($N = 119$)

What these figures show is that only about a third of the respondents reported any faith in Ayurvedic medicine, and men expressed somewhat more confidence in it than women. On this question we do find a remarkably high level of non-response: people saying "I don't know" or not understanding the question. Their problem was that they were not all familiar with the sanskritic term *Ayurveda*. (The very low level of confidence in Western medicine is also notable.) In the light of these facts let us therefore proceed to examine how the Nilgiri medicaments are used, and how medical knowledge has been formulated by Badagas, without making any further reference to Ayurveda, since it is clearly a foreign system to them.

1.11. If recognized ailment X can be treated by herbs A and B, and recognized ailment Y is treated by herbs A, B and C, the different combination of herbs underlines that X is conceptually a separate ailment from Y. But what if A is the only pharmacologically active ingredient in either medicine? If it in fact has the same effect on both maladies, possibly they are one and the same from a scientific viewpoint: thus X = Y. If such equivalences in Badaga therapeutics could be identified, they would perhaps lead to a somewhat briefer roster of treatment. Why the present larger roster?

I think there are two reasons. One is that having a wider range of diagnoses and cures fosters the impression that therapists are in fuller control of illness, a topic to which we must return later (10.21). All therapy, we will suggest, incorporates an element of ritual and functions to reduce anxiety by it. If this is granted, then it follows that the more illnesses can be identified, the greater are the opportunities for reducing anxiety and fear in patients; whereas a minimal number of treatments could raise some doubts about whether therapy was worthwhile in a particular case.

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> function as a whole but in bits. A man in one situation utilizes what in the beliefs are convenient to him and pays no attention to other elements which he might use in different situations. Hence a single event may evoke a number of different and contradictory beliefs among different persons. (Evans-Pritchard 1937: 540)

Much the same thing could be said of Badaga medicine. It is much more of a craft than a science, a fact that Weber recognized long ago as characterizing Indian therapy in general: "Medicine. . .in India, though highly developed in empirical technique, lacked a biological and particularly a biochemical foundation" (1930: 14).

The very fact that Badaga therapy has some of the characteristics of an art allows each therapist to elaborate the system in her own creative way wherever she sees a benefit in doing so. This brings us to a most important theoretical topic that should be central to all anthropological writing on cultural change, but curiously has not been: namely the role of women in cultural change. What seems like a conspiracy of silence on the subject has come about because of a greater concentration on processes than on personnel. Redfield, Kroeber, and many of their students have concerned themselves with such topics as innovation, diffusion, assimilation, acculturation, and so on, but have for the most part left the impression that these were realms of male activity. Such a misconception arose from a simplistic view of the role of women in alien societies. Indeed, in many of the societies studied it was difficult for male anthropologists to conduct extensive interviews with female informants: the view of female roles was thus to some extent a paraphrase of what male informants within the society saw those female roles to be.... And of course they were commonly stated to be woman as mother, woman as housekeeper, woman as trader, woman as agriculturist; more rarely, woman as politician or as lover. But woman as disciplinarian, poet, philosopher or innovator were topics scarcely ever touched in the cultural change literature. In the Badaga case it seems likely that while men did innovate in such areas as ritual and animal husbandry, women were commonly the innovators in therapy and midwifery, while both sexes probably had a role to play in the extensive agricultural and social innovations that followed upon their settlement on the Nilgiris.

1.13. For convenience we will now summarize very briefly the range of therapeutic practices that are to be described below in Chapters 5-8.

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(*a*) All medicines are more-or-less liquid: Badagas administer no indigenous pills or powders, although a few of their medicines are prepared and stored in the form of powders to which water must be added before they are put to use. (Nowadays though, aspirin is in common use.)

(*b*) Changes in the diet may give the patient foods with a "heating" or a "cooling" effect, as required (cf. 2.1).

(*c*) Manipulation of the body can occur by hand, by falling water, or with ropes tied round the head.

(*d*) Except for tonsilectomy, goitre and minor skin problems, no surgery is performed.

(*e*) Patients are often to be kept warm, or even made to sit under a blanket in a sweat bath.

(*f*) Branding of the trunk and limbs occurs in certain cures.

(*g*) Pastes are applied externally for a variety of maladies.

(*h*) Offerings and prayers to gods and goddesses are common; so are vows to reward a deity later for the birth of a son.

(*i*) A complicated exorcism is resorted to when the patient is possessed by a "bad ghost."

(*j*) Some local specialists, usually not Badagas, place much reliance on the recitation of protective or curative spells; this is especially important in exorcism.

(*k*) Among the 10 per cent of Badagas who are Lingayat, it used to be customary to invite the priest (*guru*) to a house where someone was sick. *Guru pu:ja* would be performed, during which the *guru*'s feet would be washed and the sanctified water collected afterwards. If the sick person drank this water, it was thought he might hope to be cured; but today most Lingayats do not believe in its curative powers, even though the *Guru pu:ja* is still performed.

(*l*) Vegetable substances are touched on or held near the patient.

It will be noticed that many Badaga cures are based on what we may feel are rational procedures: appeals to the supernatural are not always the favoured approach, and when used they are often accompanied by more rational herbal therapy as well. Nevertheless the ritualistic aspect of therapy is important, and should be given some attention (cf. 10.19).

2 FEEDING AND CARING FOR THE BODY

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"Have a meal daily; wait to have other things."

(Proverb)

Types of Foodstuff

262 261 2.1. The common items in the Badaga diet are in many cases believed to have either a "heating" or a "cooling" effect on the body. It has thus been possibe to classify the common foodstuffs according to this effect (Table 2), which is an important factor in Badaga therapeutics as well as in the Ayurvedic system. There are however other items that are occasionally eaten, but which it has not been possible to classify in this manner. The peach-tinted pannicled mallow, for example, is a jungle plant with leaves that are sometimes cooked in curry. The citron is a wild fruit that can be used instead of lime for making into a pickle: it has to be kept a week after pickling before it is ready to eat. A wild nettle produces a tuber that is thought to be very nutritious (*Urticaria tuberosa*; Shortt 1868: 60), and a half-dozen other wild tubers are also eaten. Small birds are eaten if caught (but the local rodents and reptiles are not). Larger wild animals like pig, deer, "ibex," and even tiger are sometimes shot or trapped and then eaten, but leopard, buffalo and elephant, though common, are not. Some children like to eat charcoal. Doubtless there are other items that have escaped my notice because of the rarity of their use as food or because their occurrence is very localized.

[128] In Table 2 it will be noticed that the food items have been organized under some conventional subheadings of Western cuisine. This was done for the reader's convenience, and *does not* represent a Badaga taxonomy. It does however happen to underline how each basic category of Western food (e.g. meats, oils) is split by the heating/cooling categorization of the Badagas. The Western reader will

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Badagas typically eat twice daily, once in the morning around eight o'clock and then again in the evening (Gaymard 1924: 3).[1] Each meal consists usually of two courses, the first being a curry, probably of vegetables, eaten with rice or millet. The second course, providing a third of the bulk of the meal, is curd or buttermilk. Usually with this latter course people eat a teaspoonful or so of hot lime relish, made with limes, chilies and salt. Despite the ground chilies it is "neutral" in its heating effect, and is said to dispel a disease characterized by dizziness, nausea and vomiting. At other times of the day Badagas "drink coffee, which because of the cold climate is a necessity for them and not a luxury" (Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 247). The tedium of these meals is relieved by occasional sweets made from crude sugar, honey, or high-quality millets. Fruits are always appreciated too: "Who died by eating a jackfruit? Who expanded by eating a banana?"

The usual meal and its preparation have been described in these terms:

> The women pound regularly every day in their mortars of stone... a kind of millet, which forms the basis of the daily alimentation. The grain thus decorticated is boiled and served. They sit down on the floor...and...with the fingers of the right hand they crush these boiled grains and dip them in a sauce mostly composed of pepper, mustard and coriander; of this spiced mixture they make little balls of which they consume a number according to their appetite.
>
> Sometimes the housewives prepare cakes of cornflour boiled and mixed with honey and milk. Butter is used for seasoning (Tignous 1911: 116-17).

In most Badaga homes each Monday, the weekly holiday, and in the more well-to-do ones on both Mondays and Fridays, a woman should not cook ordinary green vegetables for the curry but make a richer meal, using beans and peas and, if non-vegetarian, some meat for the dish. A similarly rich dish should be prepared for a

[1] Readers who may be confused by my apparent use of an "ethnographic present" here and throughout the book should know that *if I put a statement in the present tense it is to the best of my knowledge currently valid, and if I follow it with a citation date, such as 1924, it was also noted at that time.*

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839 [157] Bestiality is an even rarer phenomenon than homosexuality. The only instances that were reported to me were, first, the curing of a venereal disease by intercourse with a donkey (6.61); and secondly, an adult herdsman who was seen standing on a rock and having relations with a female buffalo. The Basel Mission presbytery [199] minutes for 1903 (written by Badagas) cite similar problems with a Badaga Christian teacher: "...last year he committed sin with a Toda girl...when he was on the way to Ooty to see his wife, who had gone there for her confinement. He also confessed that he had committed the same sin with his own country mare. This was all he confessed." (Basel Mission 1905: 305.)

●128 3.5. These however are for Badagas aberrant forms of sexual expression; most experimentation takes the form of heterosexual intercourse. Its techniques will be described later (3.16), but here we will discuss only those situations in which young Badagas learn about sexuality. For purposes of clarity we can talk about affairs with lovers of the same community, extra-community liaisons, and situations in which parents used to arrange formal training for their adolescent children.

864 835 836 [178] This last custom no longer prevails. It used to occur until some 30 years ago, the initiative to train a girl being taken by her own parents or another close relative; while a boy would usually seek his indoctrination in the arms of an elder brother's wife. In a typical case a man might tell his wife that their unmarried daughter was now old enough for sexual initiation. The wife would then speak to a married daughter about the matter, and she in turn would ask her own husband to offer the necessary practical training when an opportunity arose. In any event, it was supposed to be a relative, [607] such as sister's husband — even if only in a classificatory sense — who should initiate a young girl. If a girl did not undergo such an initiation there was another opportunity for her immediately following her wedding. In this instance the person who would deflorate the bride was not the groom, but a more experienced man who could be gentle with her for the first night or two, and would be related to her as a classificatory husband's brother. The new husband would be absent on these occasions. This custom is no longer [178] followed.

864 835 607 836 The obverse situation would involve a youth when aged about seventeen being given sexual training by a brother's wife who might be ten years or more his senior, and in some instances used to be

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between the two, or between a father and his daughter, has often led to a divorce.

In the estimate of one good informant, when incest occurs within the family it is most often with an elder brother's wife, and less commonly with a son's wife or with the father's second wife when she is a man's stepmother. Mother/son, father/daughter and brother/sister relations are the rarest of all, if indeed they ever occur.

The above seven types of illicit relationship are listed in my informant's order, going from (*a*) the most common but least serious, to (*g*), the most uncommon and offensive. Despite the considerable amount of evidence collected on these various types, I was told by old people that it used to be thought a very bad thing for a husband to commit adultery, and if his wife or another person found out about it she would go to the village headman who would call a meeting of the council and then fine the guilty person: in adultery the man was always at fault.

Among Badagas the public attitude towards a cuckolded husband is that he is a foolish, weak and lazy man, for otherwise his wife could not have been led astray. However, his wife also loses all respect with the other village women, who may well fear that they could lose their own husbands to her too. Nor can the adulterous man expect any accolades for his behaviour. Today a case of adultery may go before a council, which can still fine the adulterer; or her husband may quietly divorce an adulterous wife; or he might give the adulterer a beating, provided he had some alternate explanation for it to offer his neighbours.

Attitudes towards extra-marital love and prostitution are clearly expressed in Badaga proverbs and legends. Witness the following still current proverbs: "Three things are equal to each other: a harlot, an adulterer, and a piece of ground which is always in danger of being washed away by a river" (Metz 1864: 97); "If the food is spoiled, the day is spoiled; if the wife is spoiled, one's life is spoiled;" "The immoral woman will not believe her own husband;" "The whoremonger will vanish away like a handful of wind" (Metz 1864: 98); and again, "Lust is deceitful, I have lost my blanket through it" (Metz 1864: 96). A few lines from an epic poem conjure up a vision of limbo that is worthy of Dante's *Inferno :*

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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181 'Oh brother, who are these
539 Most wretched of them all?
831 In naked shame they're bound
548 To rugged gnarled trees.
They ever seem to talk,
But none are there to hear.'
'Oh sister, you surely have heard who these are:
Abandoned and profligate women, who wandered astray
From virtue and home. They have nothing wherewith
To cover their shame. They are hungry and cold.' (Gover 1871: 85).

In short, there was a touch of puritanism in Badaga oral literature that was apparently more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

The Consummation of Marriage

•128 3.8. The early part of this chapter has summarized some of the kinds of sexual activity and instruction that precede marriage. It is now time to analyze the sexual behaviour that accompanies a wedding. In doing so we shall not consider the symbolic aspects of the [582] ceremony nor its sociological features; save only to mention that hamlets are exogamous, and the preferred bride is the daughter of one's father's sister, or otherwise a mother's brother's daughter is [615] almost equally acceptable. In the Toreya phratry alone marriage [582] with a sister's daughter is permissible, though infrequent. An ethnographic account of Badaga marriage may be found in Thurston (1909: 103-09).

583 In the nineteenth century a form of trial marriage was engaged in. 584 A young man might then approach a girl's parents, and if they liked him they would invite him to their house, where he would be feasted and allowed to sleep with the girl. In the morning she would express her opinion of the youth to her parents, and her mother would then signal to him the family's decision, by giving him a meal of curried meat or similarly rich fare if he was acceptable, or otherwise just some boiled rice with a watery vegetable relish. "The same freedom, however, that on the following morning is allowed to the female, is also allowed to the youth; and should any change have taken place in his inclinations, he walks away without further ceremony" (Hark-

and all sleep in a vacant house, or one where only a widow lives, or one with a newborn baby (and hence no possibility of adult sexual activity at night). If a group is sleeping in such a house children of the opposite sex are not allowed in it.

5.20. In the last century children might only wash once a month, and be really dirty the rest of the time. Now they are washed every evening, and after reaching five years they do this for themselves. In the morning they only wash the face and clean the teeth with charcoal and a twig. Until about 1930 girls below five wore no undergarments but were simply wrapped in a loincloth. Even above that age boys and girls from very poor families continued to dress like that. Now both boys and girls wear vests and underpants from an early age. I will not offer further details on their dress here, as a full account may be found in Hockings (1979 b). By the age of seven or eight children knew how to wash their clothes; but since about 1930 and the requirements of schooling they have usually given their dirty clothes to an obliging sister or mother.

5.21. In summary, we can see that children become enculturated partly by the tales their elders entertain them with, and partly by moving freely around the village, doing things together like working and playing and sleeping. As in all parts of India, small children look to their elder siblings for guidance and leadership. As one proverb expresses this, "If the firstborn is not up to the ears, how can the later-born reach to the horns?" Outdoor group games are popular with the very young, and will be supervised by some old man or woman. In later childhood team sports such as football and a near-lethal form of field hockey are played between village teams. There are also hopscotch games, board games and string figures to while away the time or sharpen the wits of children at various ages. As we will now outline, there is also a series of childhood ceremonies which educate a young person in the values and the structure of his society, and in some cases affect his appearance and attitudes.

Childhood Ceremonies

5.22. This is not the place to offer a detailed ethnographic account of the various life-cycle ceremonies that are performed: they have already been described elsewhere by Natesa Sastri (1892) and

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Thurston (1909). We will simply offer a listing of what the ceremonies are, in chronological order, and will also describe those nonceremonial childhood events which alter the surface of the human body in some way, and hence are of some relevance to an account of Badaga health and illness.

(*a*) *Birth*. The only ceremonial aspect at delivery is a magical act to ward off any evil influence. It is described in detail above (4.11).

(*b*) *Naming*. This important ceremony makes the child into a social being, and must be performed before the fortieth day of life. Should it die before the ceremony the child's corpse is buried without a formal funeral (Jagor 1876: 199; Thurston 1909: 110).

(*c*) *Head Shaving*. This is usually combined with the ear boring, and should occur within about a year of the child's birth, but after the naming ceremony. The shaving is now done with a razor but formerly used a fragment of bottle glass (Thurston 1909: 110). Children should have a second complete shave at any time from two weeks to a year afterwards, but with no further ceremony, before their hair is allowed to grow long.

(*d*) *Ear Boring*. Sometimes this used to be combined with the naming ceremony (Jagor 1876: 199), but otherwise it occurs during a child's first year. It should follow the shaving. An earring is simply touched to the child's ear, but several years later the lobes will be punctured without any further ceremony, using the point of an earring for this (Rhiem 1900: 503).

(*e*) *First Tooth Ceremony*. Generally all babies get their lower teeth first, but in the case of a boy there will be a small ceremony if he gets teeth in the *upper* jaw first.

(*f*) *School*. There is no ceremony for when a child starts school, but the parents select an auspicious day for this and distribute sweets to the new classmates.

(*g*) *Nostril Piercing*. This is done in a girl's ninth, eleventh or thirteenth year on an auspicious day, but without any ceremony. In earlier times it was essential for a girl to have a nose-ring before she got married. Since about 1955 the practice has stopped altogether, and before that it was often combined with a girl's tattooing.

(*h*) *Tattooing*. Today the tattooing of girls is going out of fashion, and few of the younger women are so marked. A century ago however all women were tattooed on the forehead, and Jagor illustrates

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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all over the patient by a therapist of the same sex, and this is only done at night-time. In addition the patient must swallow at least three mouthfuls of the medicine. A bed is prepared in a hot part of the house, and the patient lies on it and is entirely covered with as many rugs and blankets as possible. After 20 to 90 minutes of this the patient, who is not even allowed to bare his head, breaks into a sweat. If the patient is not cured on the first night of this treatment (generally because he has just had sexual relations), it is continued for the next two nights or even for five consecutive nights. If he is still not cured by then the therapist knows that the illness is something other than Small Wind.

757 [278]

Should the patient want to go out in the morning after receiving this treatment, his face and feet are washed and water sprinkled over his body first. During the days he is being treated his diet is generally rice with onions, green leaves (*soppu*, "greens"), buttermilk, curd and some salt. Until completely cured he should have no chili.

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LEPROSY *kusta ro:ga*) 164

6.72. Leprosy is called *doḍḍa no:* ("big disease") as a euphemism for its real name, *kusta ro:ga*, which Badagas would not generally utter. It is thought of as the worst punishment that can come through illness for the heavy sins of one's ancestors. Neither the Badagas nor the Kurumba specialists have a cure for leprosy, although those patients who can afford it take opium continuously to ease the pain. People avoid taking girls in marriage from a leprous family, although leprous men are allowed to mix in public because the disease is not thought to be contagious. Dead lepers are always buried in large quantities of salt, and not cremated.

[753] [783] [757] [276] [753] [766] 128

Other general illnesses are dealt with elsewhere in this volume, in Chapters 5, 7 and 8.

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8 PSYCHIATRIC DISORDERS

539

"While living he has no blessing of God; when dead he is not in heaven."

(Proverb)

Spirit Possession

121 8.1. Perhaps no aspects of Badaga therapy fit more clearly into an all-Indian pattern than do the phenomena surrounding possession and the exorcism of ghosts. Readers of the accounts available on North Indian (Lewis 1958: 295-99; Majumdar 1958: 234-36; Opler 1958; Freed and Freed 1964) and Central Indian spirit possession (Harper 1963) will at once recognize in the following pages many points of similarity. Adolescent girls cut off from their natal homes or unsettled by the requirements of adult sexuality are the ones who are especially prone to possession everywhere in India, and when older women also become possessed it seems that they too are feeling very insecure about their positions in the family. In what follows we will discuss the predicament and the curing of a few such persons, and outline the Badaga theory of ghosts, without trying to translate our observations into Western psychological terms. An anthropological view of spirit possession must necessarily take account of the personal and social correlates of these attacks, rather than attempt to couch an analysis of the hysteria in an appropriate professional jargon.

128

725 8.2. The Badaga theory of the soul is as reminiscent of Zoroastrianism as it is of Hindu belief. If following death the soul is judged to

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827 because the digestion has already produced such a store of blood.
826 There seems to be no conception of layers of fat lying under the skin.

The existence of a skeleton is recognized. Thus the backbone allows us to stand up erect. Outside it there is a large vein, which is necessary for life to continue. Both large and small bones have been given by God, to aid us in working.

[84] Reproduction is conceived of as a somewhat separate subsystem, but it too centres on the belly; and again it is by God's grace that there are two sexes. He has given us hair only in certain parts of the body to differentiate us from animals. Furthermore, he has given moustaches and beards to men and breasts to women, in order to distinguish between the sexes. It is also God's will that only men have semen, and only women have menses. Inside the
826 belly of women, but not of men, there is a bag, the womb (*ku:ru*
827 *pae*) where a foetus grows. The foetus is formed entirely from
842 semen, which is why copulation is essential for conception. Blood
843 comes to the child after digestion has occurred in the mother's belly, and the foetus grows with this blood. Without conception this blood becomes waste each mouth. Urine and faeces are simi-
827 larly waste products of the digestion process in the belly.

After birth, milk flows from the belly to the breasts, and is
826 sucked through the nipples (*ma: ru*). These are thought to be the
827 outside part of the *nenju*, and it is by God's grace that only in women do they give milk.

The semen is another product of the belly, and it passes from there to the penis during coitus. The function of the *he:ḍu* (scrotum and testicles) is simply to effect an erection; it is not a source of semen.

Parts of the body present from birth do not grow continuously, but hair, being like grass, does. Nevertheless a child does grow slowly if it is fed properly, just as vegetables do if they are manured. If one's *nenju* pulsates weakly, then that person will become weak. If he does not take food and drink he will die, for all the other functions of the body will stop.

Diagnosis

● 128 10.14. The preceding few chapters have presented an excursion into the ethnomedicine of the Badagas, as described to me by some

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of their experts. I have not been able to analyze individual cases, because the data were not available and I am not qualified to collect or evaluate them. What has been presented here is solely the view of Badaga medicine which some therapists have. It is not a complete emic account, for that would also have to take into consideration information provided by patients and their relatives concerning their views of illness episodes. If I were to develop a full etic account I would distinguish initially between functional disorders, parasitic ailments, nutritional diseases, and mental illness. Such a scientific categorization is cross-cut however, by the emic data, knowledge specific to Badaga culture, which offers such examples as the treatment of a functional disorder by nutritional adjustments, or parasitic ailments considered as supernatural experiences. Only on the subject of mortality was it possible to present an etic, statistical account (9.7-9.8) based on other sources than what Badagas could show and tell me.

In what follows I summarize some of their ideas on the causation and diagnosis of illness, insofar as these are reflected in their actual therapeutic practices. Nowhere in my field investigations, however, did I encounter any real systematization of these principles.

In reviewing Indian folk medicine, Khwaja Hassan (1964: 80) found that a failure to cure does not shake public belief; yet if a remedy works that is no surprise, because it was expected to. If the remedy does fail, something else is tried on the basis of a different diagnosis; but while this is true for Badagas they have a proverb counselling patience first: "Wait and see the effect of that medicine..." Another one asks: "Immediately after having drunk medicine, is it possible to get up and stand?" If the patient dies, they do not think that the treatment was inappropriate but that he was beyond help. Such attitudes may still be heard from most Badagas.

On this subject of diagnosis Hughes suggests that, "Diagnostic categories, however crude, serve the purpose of directing sustained attention and reflection to the appearance of disease syndromes, thus providing empirical data for inferences about the probable effectiveness of one type of treatment or another. Undoubtedly this constitutes a kind of inadvertent experimental approach." (Hughes 1968: 91) In a society that practices neither surgery nor postmortems other avenues for observation are closed.

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or ear-rings, then her husband will die. If anyone dreams of a male buffalo, there will soon be a death in the village, probably among the dreamer's relatives (since Ya:ma, the Hindu god of death, comes riding on a buffalo). If one dreams of a woman approaching in a red *sa:ri*, this means a contagious disease will soon affect his house, his relatives or his village, usually through the disease-bearing goddess. Sometimes a person dreams of a woman in a red *sa:ri* leaving the village where there is an epidemic: this means the infection will now end.

Causation of Disease

10.17. The Badagas neither recognize any particular god as responsible for creating or curing all diseases, nor consider any one single health factor to cause all illness. As we have already seen, only a few of the diseases that Badagas cure are known by them to have a specific cause. Nevertheless we will briefly review here the variety of causes that therapists can cite.

(*a*) There are five diseases that are visited upon people by a goddess : these we have treated in detail above (7.1-7.6). A similar kind of causation was recognized for "Big Wind," where a bad spirit or deity was believed to have flicked a corner of its invisible clothing against the patient's body. Infertility in a woman is ultimately the will of God, although its immediate cause may in some instances be the failure of the couple to love each other sufficiently. Aside from these instances, however, the Badagas do not consider other chronic illnesses or bodily deformities to be inflicted by the gods : they are rather viewed as the effect of unknown sins committed by the victims themselves in previous incarnations. The will of a god and the effect of one's own or one's ancestors' sins cannot altogether be separated, however. If a person gets smallpox, for example, it means that he has done something impure; and in curing him the therapist must pray to Ma:riamma, the smallpox goddess, to forgive the patient's sins. In this way the curing process pleases the goddess and she may therefore oblige by doing what is required of her.

(*b*) Mental illness is caused by a bad spirit or bad ghost getting into the body. It is believed, on the other hand, that a person can become strong and healthy if a good ghost enters him, for it will help his body to grow.

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Without going through the entire repertoire of Badaga therapy once more to show where symbolic interpretations are possible, we will only look briefly at the treatment given to the childhood illnesses, and take this as a rough sampling of the entire corpus.

In this review we should first note that certain of the treatments appear to involve no symbolic element whatever, but rather to call for the simple manipulation of affected parts of the body (5.27, 5.28, 5.34). In other instances medicines are given which probably have a genuinely therapeutic or nutritional value (although I am not qualified to vouch for the worth of particular medicaments) (5.35, 5.38). Yet we find almost as many treatments reported which appear to have symbolic dimensions, even though some of these may also involve pharmacologically sound procedures. Thus the hair is shaved repeatedly from the head of a baby with scant or patchy hair (5.26). Alternatively little fern buds that look like green ringlets are ground up for use as a shampoo (5.26). In another disease hairy bezoar-stone is rubbed onto the bald patches of a head (5.26). The flesh of a monkey that has a distinctive whooping cry is bought as a cure for whooping-cough (5.31). A cough is cured with medicines made from animal matter associated with tickling, from hares or peacocks (5.29). Pastes of rice-water or American aloe are briefly allowed to encake the lower parts of babies whose legs or hips need strengthening (5.32, 5.33). The final stage of removing tonsils with the fingers involves a substance made from finger millet (the inflorescence of which resembles some tiny fingers; 5.28). When a child gets frightened by a fall a piece of the very ground he has fallen onto is touched to the child's tongue, a most intimate gesture of confidence-building (5.39). And when a child is otherwise frightened a central part of the curing ritual is to startle him again with things that he can see are harmless, namely flowers, grass and water (5.40). (One is reminded here of the English tippler's rememdy, "Have a hair of the dog that bit you!") And after being bitten by a snake one must at all costs avoid something else cold and flowing, namely water (6.22).

What such remedies attempt to do in a symbolic way is to show that the seemingly uncontrollable—the malady and the organs inside a patient's body—can be manipulated by man's mind. This is not usually done, as it is in Western medicine, through the actual manipulation by surgery or pharmaceutics of the disease-causing agents, but rather by the manipulation of materials that are perceived by

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APPENDIX

Veterinary Practice

The following paraphrase of my notes records the extent of the knowledge about how to treat cattle that my informant K. Sithamma was able to provide. As we have shown (10.3-10.6), she was a therapist who lived in a cattle-keeping village all her life. 128 232

(*a*) It is difficult to breed buffalo calves because of the cold climate in the Nilgiris. Some buffaloes have a thick milk which can kill the calf. To overcome this danger a little opium is given to the calf when it is born, and it is then able to digest the thick milk. If it still has trouble, however, a little more opium is given it after two to four weeks and this ensures that the calf lives. More care is taken over a female than a bull calf. 232

If there is no opium to give a calf at birth, there is instead a medicine to give it when it becomes sick. We know when a calf is sick because it is quiet and will not take milk. The medicine for the calf is made by pounding the root of the common Nilgiri barberry to get its juice. The leaf of a small bean, *hittili avare*, is then taken and a mixtnre of salt and butter smeared on it. The juice of the root is poured on this and it is given to the calf to eat. Care must be taken that the buffalo calf gets only a limited quantity of milk till the fifth or sixth month of life. This is done by milking the mother, as a check on the quantity the calf can get. If it is the wet season the animal is allowed less milk than if it is hot and dry. Just after the calf has drunk it is tied up for a half or one hour to keep it quiet; for it should not run about right after feeding.

In the case of a cow's (rather than a buffalo's) calf, if it is known that the cow has thick milk someone cuts the end of each

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121 the Badaga culture. We have to ask how their case compares with documented change elsewhere in India, and what broad theoretical conclusions may be drawn from such comparisons.

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128 Reyes-Hockings, has done much to improve the style of the finished work, and has proved to be as meticulous a typist as she is an editor.

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CHAPTER I

THE GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL AND ETHNIC SETTING

The Terrain

131 The Nilgiri Hills, once also known as the Blue Mountains, are a plateau some 600 square miles in area, situated in Southern India at the juncture of the three linguistic and cultural areas of Karnatak, Malabar and Tamilnāḍ; or of 631 modern Mysore, Kerala and Madras States. Today the Nilgiris form one small 101 administrative District of Madras State. They are the homeland of the Badaga, Toda, Kota and Kurumba communities; nowadays many other peoples also live there.

133 The plateau is generally in the altitude range of 6000-8000 feet, and one peak (among the highest in peninsular India) reaches 8640 feet. In contrast with this the western quarter of the District averages around 3000 feet in altitude, and 128 forms a part of the Wynaad Plateau. In this study I use the term Nilgiris in its geographical sense rather than its political one, thereby excluding the Wynaad when I speak of the Nilgiris.

133 The slopes of the Nilgiri Plateau fall away very steeply, and on the eastern edge actually drop some 6000 feet in a distance of less than two miles. The slopes 137 have always been covered by a dense subtropical jungle which harbors tigers, leo- 136 pards, wild buffaloes, elephants, snakes, malarial mosquitoes, and (formerly 115 dangerous) hunting tribes still feared for their sorcery. Until the advent of the

•128 The economic and social relations between these four communities were summarized diagrammatically by Zvelebil in the (perhaps over-simplified) way shown on p. 22.

The Badagas: Tribe or Caste?

121 In the numerous publications about the Nilgiri peoples there have been certain fashions in writing. One of these fashions was, during the 19th Century, to call the Badagas a "tribe", but during the 20th Century to call them a "caste". As a matter of fact, the two words "tribe" and "caste" have been used so loosely in India that it is better for an ethnographer to avoid them if at all possible. Many cases of Indian social groups which are undoubtedly tribes or undoubtedly castes could be listed; but what of the numerous cases of groups which seem to be "caste-like" tribes or "tribe-like" castes? If we are really dealing with a continuum in social typology, the distinction between tribe and caste in the case of the Badagas will not be an important one.

Let us nevertheless explore this topic a little. What do we mean by a "society", first? A society is the largest segment of a population in which the people recognize themselves as inhabiting a definable territory, and as engaging in meaningful, patterned interaction. Normally the society will be marked off from others by having a distinctive name and very often a distinctive language as well. In view of this definition and the complexity of Badaga interaction with other Nilgiri peoples, it appears that the Badagas hardly constitute a distinct society by themselves. It is certainly true that there is a much higher per capita frequency or length of interaction taking place within the Badaga community (or within the Toda or the Kota community, for that matter) than across these community boundaries. The social boundaries of each tribe are very recognizable discon-

619 [121] 648

121 ween any Badaga hamlet and its nearest Kota village. Such facts as these show that Badaga social organization is unlike the usual jati system in Indian rural areas. We have already made the point that Badaga society occupies a midway position along a caste/tribal continuum (cf. p. 28). It is thus not surprising to find that, while there is a caste-like hierarchy, Badagas practice marriages which, if they were to occur between ranked jatis, could not only be called hypergamous but also hypogamous. The irrelevance of the hierarchy in the arrangement of marriages marks the Badaga practice off from that of caste societies.

Using anthropological terminology, how then can we describe Badaga society less ambiguously? (In the pages that follow the term lineage denotes a group of consanguineal kinsfolk who affirm a bond of unilineal kinship traceable genealogically, in the Badaga case, for about seven patrilineal generations. A sib, i.e. a patrilineal clan, consists of a number of such lineages, and is a unilinear kin group in which the actual descent from a common male ancestor can only be presumed. A phratry is a grouping of two or more sibs whose members assume a common bond of kinship, which they support with a story of their common origin; and although in many societies a phratry is exogamous, we must use the term more loosely in the Badaga case to apply to a group that is typically endogamous but in certain cases permits exogamy.)

614 The Badaga community is made up of 17 exogamous sibs sharing a common culture and territory. (Before 1913 two more sibs of Badaga Christians had been • 128 added to this number.) The situation which now exists among intermarrying sibs is a very complex one, and requires a clarifying diagram (p. 46) as well as a long description. Each rectangle in the diagram represents one sib, and thin lines link the intermarrying sibs. Before presenting a detailed account of these units, we

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 471

●128 will discuss the general principles by which Badagas regulate marriage.

The Regulation of Marriage

615 (614) The sibs are grouped into six phratries: in most cases the phratries bear names but the sibs do not. The Badagas, who have an extensive oral history embodied in their folksongs, can still recall the origins of these phratries as historically distinct settlements of various small immigrant groups. The founders of the various phratries had different places of origin in the Mysore Plains, or took different routes up into the Nilgiris, or came at different periods. The first villages that were founded by each ancestral group are still inhabited by that phratry today. The phratries are ranked into a hierarchy about which there is considerable disagreement. Each phratry is to a large extent endogamous, in one case entirely so; and all but two consist of two sibs each. As can be seen from the diagram, the exceptions to this statement are two groups with four sibs in each case: first, the Wodeyas; and secondly, the Haruvas, Kaggusis and two Lingayat sibs, who together form an unnamed phratry. The Toreyas are the only phratry that is now completely endogamous.

Most Badagas, of whatever sib or phratry, agree that the two Toreya sibs are lowest and that the four Wodeya sibs have the highest rank in the entire community. Although the great majority of Badagas are not Lingayats, they cite the purity of a Wodeya's vegetarian diet and the orthodoxy of his Lingayat observances as the factors which support his high rank; many also consider that the priority of his ancestors' arrival in the Nilgiris places him above the other two Lingayat sibs. The only people who typically accord the Haruvas a rank higher than the Wodeyas are the minority who are supporters of a pro-Haruva faction to be discussed later.

582 between the bride and her husband's mother, who is of course her father's sister
(581) (Benbow 1928: 20). Badagas expect that a bride who is father's sister's daughter
to her husband will be more timid and easier to control than one who is the
(578) mother's brother's daughter. At the root of this preference lies a conflict of
roles: there is a very real problem for a Badaga if his wife's father is also his
own mother's brother, since these are two very different roles. One entails giving
his daughter to a young man, and receiving a sum of money "in return"; the other
entails acting as the young man's spiritual guide. Most Badagas feel that there is
a certain ambiguity involved if a single individual, vis-à-vis his sister's son, has
both of these roles at once. It is quite common for Badagas to marry more distant
relatives who are only "mother's brother's daughter" or "father's sister's daughter"
in a classificatory sense, however, in which case the ambiguous situation we have
described and the conflict that it might generate can both be avoided.

The Phratries

615 The most deep-seated -- and certainly the oldest -- divisions in the
Badaga community are those between the phratries. Each phratry is said to have
614 a distinct historical origin, and remains a distinguishable social entity today for
purposes of arranging marriages and celebrating certain rituals. The sibs per-
(621) haps come closer than the phratries to being corporate groups in most cases: each
hamlet is typically the home of members of one sib only. In the few cases where
families from another sib are also present, they are recognized as being fairly
121 recent immigrants, and their "native" hamlet is known to all. In view of the cen-
tral importance of the sib structure to an understanding of Badaga social organiza-
• 128 tion, we will now present in some detail an account of the features which distinguish
each phratry and its constituent sibs. These will be treated in the order that many

128 Badagas rank them in the social hierarchy.

The diagram overleaf (p. 53) is an elaboration of one given above (p. 46). Here again each rectangle represents one sib, and thin lines link the sibs which traditionally intermarry. The broken lines indicate abnormal marriages that occur only at rare intervals. The heavier lines mark the main subcultural divisions within the community, between vegetarians and meat-eaters, and between Lingayats and the other Saivites.

615 (162) The majority of Badagas rank the Wodeyas as the highest phratry in the community (Francis 1908: 130-31). They occupy about a dozen hamlets scattered across the Nilgiris, some of them very close to the hamlets of other phratries; perhaps they number 3000 people. The Wodeyas, unlike the lower-ranking phratries, are divided into four named, exogamous sibs, several of which will be represented in the population of each of their hamlets. In some ways, therefore, the organization of the Wodeya phratry is like that of the next phratry, the Adikari-Kaṇakka-Haruva-Kaggusi grouping; for this too is made up of four named, exogamous sibs. The difference is that members of the various sibs in this second phratry do not typically inhabit the same hamlet, and may not intermarry with any one of the other three sibs.

582 584 615 Wodeya marriages are nearly always arranged between members of any two of the four sibs; with the proviso that a man should not marry into a family in which his mother's sister, mother's brother, father's sister or father's brother have married. But since the beginning of this century some marriages have been contracted with Wodeya Lingayat girls from the Mysore Plains, who are not Badagas at all. In a few cases Wodeyas have even been known to marry Kaṇakka girls.

178 government-held reserves);

(423) d) fragmentation of holdings has thus been taking place;

(311) e) the estimate of total cultivated acreage in 1962 was slightly below that for 1880-81.

• 128 Some official figures can be presented, in addition to these, to illustrate the shift in importance of various crops in the entire plateau area. These figures come from two different sources (Francis 1908: 164, and Madras 1949: 976), and show the percentage of the total cultivated area devoted to each crop. The earlier figures apparently relate to the year 1905-06, and the later ones to 1940-41, 35 years later.

178 241 311

	COONOOR TALUK (Paranginad & Merkunad)		OOTACAMUND TALUK (Todanad & Kunda)	
	1905-06	1940-41	1905-06	1940-41
Mainly Subsistence Crops:				
Wheat	1.7%	2.8%	2.9%	3.3%
Barley	5.4	2.7	3.4	4.2
Ragi	1.5	1.9	7.1	4.5
Samai	14.7	6.3	4.3	6.2
Other grains	13.1	0.7	27.8	1.1
Pulses	--	1.9	--	0.5
Cash Crops:				
Vegetables (mainly potato) and fruits	5.2% (potato: 4.8%)	18.6%	3.9% (potato: 3.2%)	30.3%
Spices, condiments	0.3	0.7	0.9	1.1
Coffee	44.6	25.6	18.1	15.8
Tea	7.7	42.7	12.8	32.3
Cinchona	1.1	0.08	10.9	4.0
Miscellaneous "industrial" plants	4.7	5.9	7.9	6.6

128 241 It may be objected that while the figures for each taluk in 1905-06 total 100%, those for 1940-41 total somewhat more than 100%. This discrepancy reflects one important change in the 35-year period: double-cropping became a fairly com-

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AN50 Badaga AN50

128 241 mon practice. Thus two crops represented above by separate figures would sometimes be growing simultaneously on the same piece of land. (All percentages are based on acreage.)

128 178 241 311 Our main problem in interpreting these figures arises from the fact that we cannot be certain how much of the land under these crops was in fact owned by Badagas. A majority of the cultivable land in these areas has always belonged to the Badagas; just how much, has not been calculated. Even so, we can be certain that virtually all of the land under subsistence crops during this century was farmed by Badagas; this was also true of land growing market vegetables and fruits. A majority of the land devoted to tea, coffee and cinchona, on the other hand, was in British-owned plantations. Coffee turned out not to be too successful a crop in many parts of the plateau, and so the land was later given over to tea. This fact, together with the appearance of Badaga tea plantations from about 1925 onward, accounts for the great increase in tea acreage over the 35-year period (Ranga 1934: 18-22).

311 423 It might be illuminating at this point to cite an example of one administrative "village" in Merkunad -- Ketti Village -- which reflects how much of the plateau land was owned by Badagas. The figures that are available come from the 1881 Land Settlement records, and show how the 7993 acres of this particular "village" were distributed in the years prior to the Badagas' adoption of a cash economy:

Badaga farming lands	5157 acs.
Badaga grazing ground	496 acs.
Toda grazing lands	128 acs.
Village sites	222 acs.
Government forest areas	296 acs.
An Anglo-Indian orphanage and school	762 acs.
Estates (mainly British-owned)	440 acs.
Government cinchona plantation	5 acs.
Available for sale	487 acs.

(Source -- Benson 1881: 188-89.)

(1800-1963)

AW50	Badaga	AW50
	Kota	AW55
	Kurumba	AW56
	Toda	AW60
	Madras Tribes	AW63
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F. Former field behind the Toda buffalo-pen is now covered with grass regularly cropped by Toda buffaloes.

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A. Stone circle built on Anikal Betta by Megalithic Cult members. Blooming Anaphalis neelgerriana DC. plants cling to rocky ground and rhododendron at right grows from another stone circle.
B. Frost pocket and patch shola surrounded by lines of planted eucalyptus extending up the side of Deva Betta.
C. More mature eucalyptus trees planted on grassland.
D. Scattered rhododendron trees and patch shola. In the foreground there are Andropogon polypticus Steud. var. deccanensis Bor grass clumps and scattered Gaultheria fragrantissima Wall. shrubs.
E. Fire racing over savanna on an outer Nilgiri slope.
F. Savanna with tall grasses and scattered charred trees.

Plate VI 199

A. Irula multilayer gardens near Rangasvami Betta are surrounded by dry fields. Savanna resulting from annual fires set by Irulas covers land in the background.
B. Irula house-row fronted by a courtyard (Kardashola).
C. Irula house and courtyard backed by a multilayer garden (Caricure). Covered platform to man's left is used for grain storage. Between house and storeroom roofs there is a chicken basket.
D. Irula houses (Mettikal). One is sided with banana stems and the other is roofed with them.
E. Confinement room with banana stem roofing (Caricure).
F. Irula memorial-temple at Koppayur. Pagoda tree branches show at left.

Plate VII 201

A. Irula house-row constructed by the Madras Government (Mettikal).
B. Tribal residential school for Irulas at Sholurmattam.
C. Irula field with mixed amaranth (A. hypochondriacus L.), Italian millet, and little millet.
D. Irula cattle protected by open-sided hut.
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A. Kurumba male and his two offspring.
B. Kurumba houses next to savanna (Kolikutai).

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C. Kurumba houses and a chicken hut (Melur Slope).
D. Kurumba house with courtyard upon which coffee beans were being dried (Melur Slope).
E. Two joined side-gabled Kurumba houses roofed with banana stems (Kavalkombe).
F. Kurumba watch-hut next to a field of Italian and little millet (Kavalkombe).

Plate IX 205

A. Scattered fields and Kurumba houses on five different locales (Melur Slope). Note savanna in background.
B. Cherimoya (left), kapok (farther right), and mandarin orange (right) trees growing near a Kurumba's house (Parthyalam).
C. Kurumba house surrounded by a kitchen garden (Melur Slope).
D. Kurumba kitchen garden (Melur Slope).
E. Field crops grading into a multilayer garden with grains (Parthyalam).
F. Finger millet and scattered amaranth (Kavalkombe).

Plate X 207

A. Badaga tea gardens (foreground), dry fields, and eucalyptus stands (middle ground and behind village) near Hunthalla.
B. Badaga Hethai temple at Ketti.
C. Badaga sloped fields with retaining walls and terraced fields under construction. Eucalyptus trees in left background have had most of their leaves removed for eucalyptus oil production.
D. Bulls trampling out little millet grain on a Badaga courtyard.
E. Courtyard at Ketti being decorated on Martu Pongal day.
F. Cow which has just eaten a flatcake served on the platter.

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A. Kota Kirgoj community surrounded by kitchen gardens and dry fields.
B. The two Kinar temples.
C. New Kota temple at Kolmel.
D. Dancing Kota women accompanied by men playing instruments (Kinar).
E. Kota musicians playing at a Harvar funeral (Hosatti).
F. Kolmel Kota men working in the village forge.

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128 Plate XII 211

A. Wynaad terrain, with unplanted wet rice fields on the valley bottom. The Moplah house in the valley is located atypically.
B. Badaga houses next to a courtyard (Nundhatti). A tulasi plant shows in the extreme left.
C. Temple used by Pandalur Badagas.
D. Two shrines adjacent to the same temple. Portions of pagoda trees show to the left and right.
E. Paniya men guiding a plow drawn by buffaloes, and Paniya women transplanting rice.
F. Two Badaga men standing in the midst of a taro plot at Pandalur.

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CHAPTER II

THE PHYSICAL BASE

133 The Nilgiris, which are geologically related to adjoining regions, form the largest and generally highest southern Indian massif. Resultant orographic influences lead to considerable variation in climate, soils, and vegetation from Malabar plains to the Central 121 Plain. Because the Nilgiris thus form but a part of a physical con- 128 tinuum, their relationships to adjacent regions are outlined in this chapter under the headings of geology and physiography, climate, soils, and vegetation.

1. Geology and Physiography

133 Excepting recent sedimentaries along coastal Malabar, the Nilgiris and adjacent regions are dominated by Precambrian Archaean rocks ranging in age from earliest Dharwars to later granites (Hayden and Hatch 1904: 10-18, Plate IV; Krishnan 1954: 175-177; Krishnan 1958a: 61; Krishnan 1958b: 72; Muthuswami 1930: 86-87; Iyer 1929: 121-123, 133-134; Pascoe 1950, 1:35-36; Thiagarajan 1962: 306-307). The Nilgiri massif and other massifs in extreme southern and eastern peninsular India are largely composed of Charnockitic intrusions (Figure 3). Rocks of the Charnockite Suite are associated with charnockite, a peculiar hypersthene quartz felspar rock.[1] In the Nilgiri and other regions steeply dipping charnockite and related

[p. 16]

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

B T 171 prosperity. Badagas also turned to horizontal transhumance motivated by seasonal variations in rainfall. Their temporarily used western livestock centers are called hundis. In the Mysore Ditch, north of the Nilgiri massif (Figures 1 and 2), the Badagas found another B 231 exploitable niche. Badaga livestock kept there all year are cared [361] for by Kasuvas. Livestock centers with house types occupied by (648) Kasuvas are related to the symbiotic Badaga-Kasuva relationship. Although agricultural Kotas may have inhabited the upper Nilgiris Ko 231 for over a millennium, only a few residents from Kirgoj graze buffaloes out of temporarily inhabited livestock centers on the temperate grasslands.

B 121 128 The following steps guide narration in this and later chapters: Generalized outlines of occupance patterns (equated with varying ways in which men have occupied landscapes) are followed by data relating to distinctive dwellings and sacred structures (occupance forms) labeled types. Discussion then shifts to economic activities altering landscapes around occupance sites to the greatest degree. Other economic activities altering landscapes to either a lesser or negligible degree are then discussed. Discourse turns to trades and services generated by members of the group under consideration and leading to economic intercourse with outsiders. Lastly, employment in economies generated by outsiders is considered. If a step is not applicable, it is omitted. In the case of Badaga, Badaga-Kasuva, and Kota occupance patterns described in this chapter, narration does not move beyond economic activities altering landscapes to a marked degree.

Because Nilgiri pastoralists have played such a vital role in

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
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changing landscapes, this chapter closes with some comments on temperate grasslands, future grassland-shola ecology, and the tropical savannas.

1. The Todas

Occupance patterns. Both Keys (1812: xlvii) and Ward (1821: lxi) identified Todas as buffalo herders living mainly in the Mallanaud, a tract covered by grassland and shola (remnant forest) in the western upper Nilgiris. Most of their hamlets are now scattered around two adjacent peaks (Anaikal and a higher 8002 foot peak) in the Mallanaud, but some are located elsewhere (Figures 1 and 2). In the past, Todas occupied more extensive tracts. In 1843, after the English had established control of the Nilgiris, Todas were granted absolute but taxable occupational rights to their hamlets and certain grassland acreages nearby. The allotments were increased in 1863, but hamlet abandonment has taken place despite grazing land guarantees (Breaks 1873: 11-12; Francis 1908: 272). A major reason for this is that non-allocated grassland grazed by Toda buffaloes has areally diminished. Decreases in grassland acreages are due in part to reforestation projects, but many grassy areas were inundated by large reservoirs, and other tracts have been utilized for agriculture or settlement by non-Todas. Todas themselves have also changed enough to desire occupational sites nearer roads or urban centers (mainly Ootacamund), so have tended to abandon less accessible western hamlets for this reason.[1] Abandoned hamlets and accompanying grassy acres have been reappropriated by the Madras Government, and then distributed

Bi Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AM50 Badaga AM50

(amongst others) either his FZD or his MBD, but there is a marked preference for a FZD and some good reasons for it.[2] One involves a feeling of status congruence. Men, it is believed, demean themselves somewhat by becoming bride-givers. This is acknowledged nowadays by the payment of dowry, a new custom among the Badagas. But a young man's spiritual guide is not the family priest in this community; instead it is always his MB, whom he calls *guru* and also accords much respect. It is thus incongruent if that particular man should give his daughter in marriage to the very boy he has counselled. Marriage with a FZD, or with the daughter of a MB other than one's *guru*, gets around this emotional problem.

Patrilocality is another preference that is usually spoken of as an unbending rule. Yet there is in point of fact a term, *aḷiya se:tu*, for the live-in son-in-law, a young man who opts to live with his wife's family after their marriage. This is considered an undignified and pitiful thing to do, but it can bring real material advantages to a man whose wife has no brothers, and is a necessary alternative to virilocal residence in such a family. The epic ballad *Ba:la Sevana* deals with a man who moves into his father-in-law's village to help with the buffaloes, leaving his own mother in her village lamenting the loss of her only son, and bemoaning her fate since "there will be nobody to set fire to her corpse." It is interesting to note that Ba:la Sevana married into the Kunda region, one that used to be so economically distressed that its children were often sold into bondage for a period of years, thereby becoming the household servants of Badagas in other parts of the Nilgiris. The live-in son-in-law was one institution that helped make up for the loss of male children in those bad years, when bondage was the only answer to the threat of starvation in that region.

2. Patriliny and Patrilocality

Today the Badagas are successful cash-crop farmers specialising in cabbages, potatoes, and tea; those of the Kunda region are the wealthiest in the District. Until the early part of this century, on the other hand, they were all mainly farmers of millet. This and several other grains, together with dairy produce, provided their subsistence. When one delves further back in their history, to the 17th and 18th centuries when they were already well established on the Nilgiri Hills but with a population of under 2,000, one finds that the Badagas were already millet farmers yet thought of themselves as primarily buffalo herdsmen. This is reflected very clearly in a number of their epic ballads dating from that time. Since each family or lineage used once to have its own herd of buffaloes, then it is legitimate for us to consider

---

[2] Letters placed in single apostrophes, 'A', 'B', 'C', etc.; stand for hypothetical people and are like personal names. Letters placed in double quotation marks, e.g. "M," "F," etc., indicate classificatory rather than actual kin relationships, and should be read as "in the category of mothers," and so on. Z = sister, S = son, etc.